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THE UNCROWNED
KING.

"With the help of God I will hold the
Balance level."

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CHINESE GORDON

THE UNCROWNED KING


HIS CHARACTER AS IT IS PORTRAYED IN HIS PRIVATE
LETTERS

COMPILED BY
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LAURA C. HOLLOWAY

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“ Arrived at Khartoum, he had to submit to the ceremony of installation. The Cadi read the firman and presented an address, a royal salute was fired, and then Gordon had to make his speech from the vice-throne. It was very short, but ‘it pleased the people much.’ The pithy sentence he uttered was, ‘With the help of God I will hold the balance level;’ and then, as not he records, he ‘directed gratuities to be distributed to the deserving poor, and in three days he gave away upward of a thousand pounds of his own money.’ ”—
FORBES’ LIFE OF GORDON.



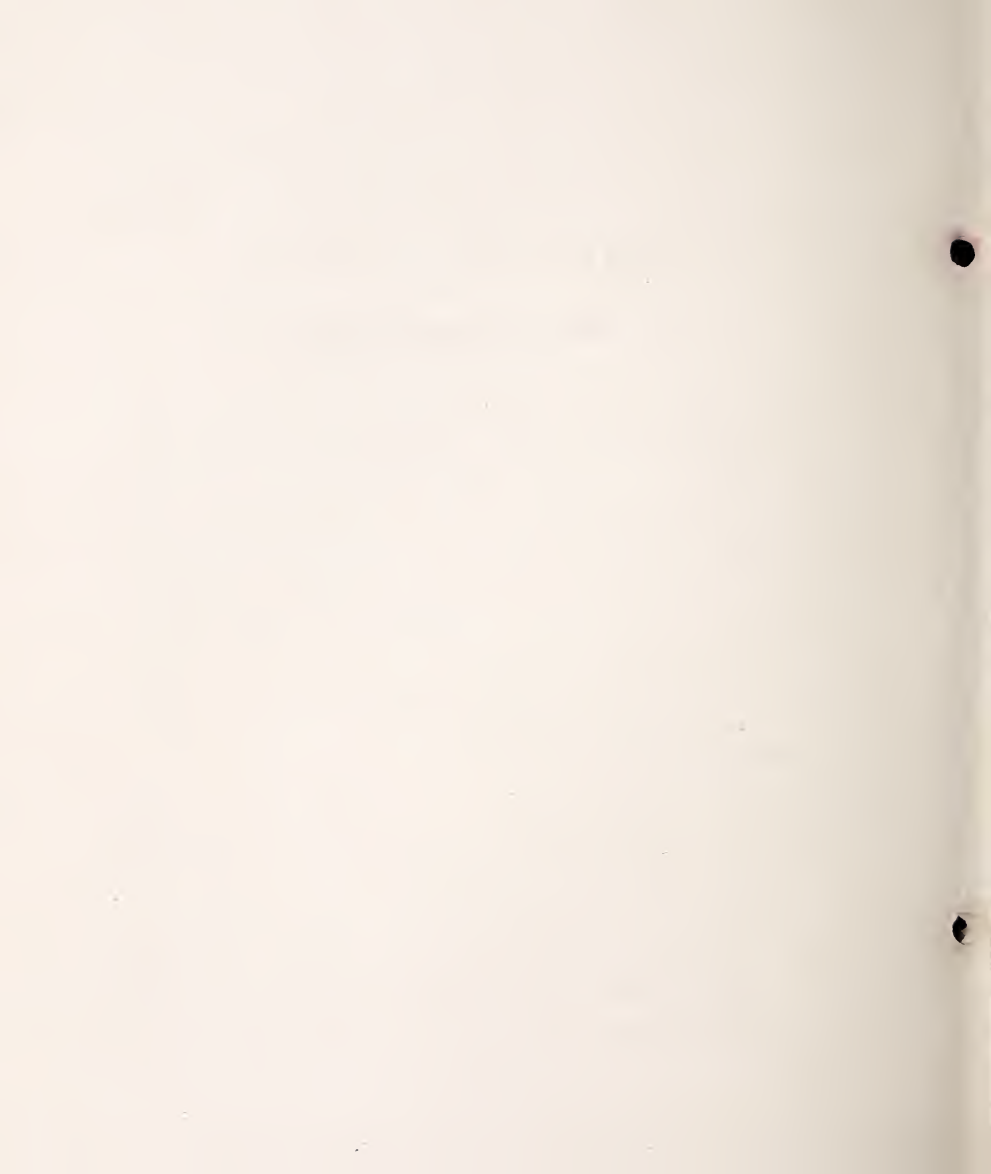
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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION.

THE hero of the Soudan is the subject of universal interest, and his character is admired by all who can appreciate the incarnation of the world's highest ideal of manhood. After a career of enthusiastic unselfishness, spent in the service of his race, his martyr's fate was its fit culmination.

The inner life of this uncrowned king, which is clearly portrayed in the excerpts from his private letters, compiled in this little book, is worthy the earnest study of the race, for Gordon was God's best gift to man—a hero.



CHINESE GORDON,

THE UNCROWNED KING.

MY only consolation is that everything is for the best.

I have no right to possess anything, having once given myself to God.

The Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian.

I care nothing for a high name. As for honors, I do not value them at all, and never did.

Answer to an Invitation to Dinner.—"Ask the poor and sick ; don't ask me, who have enough !"

I am so glad to get away (from Cairo), for I am very weary. I go up alone, with an infinite Almighty God to direct and guide me ; and am glad to so trust Him as to fear nothing, and, indeed, to feel sure of success.

Praying for the people ahead of me whom I am about to visit, gives me much strength ; and it is wonderful *how something seems already to have*

passed between us when I meet a chief (for whom I have prayed) for the first time. On this I base my hopes of a triumphant march to Fascher. I have really no troops with me, but I have the Shekinah, and I do like trusting to Him and not to men. Remember, unless He gave me the confidence and encouraged me to trust Him, I could not have it ; and so I consider that I have the earnest of success in this confidence.

I, for one, do not care about being "lamented" after death. Do not think I am ill-tempered, but I do not care one jot about my promotion or what people may say. I know I shall leave China as poor as I entered it, but with the knowledge that through my weak instrumentality upward of eighty to one hundred thousand lives have been spared. I want no further satisfaction than this.

Who art thou to be afraid of a man ? If He wills, I will shake all this in some way not clear to me now. Do not think I am an egotist. We have a king mightier than these, and more enduring riches and power in Him than we can have in this world. I will not bow to Haman.

God knows what my anxiety was. Not for my life, for I died years ago to all ties in this world and to all its comforts, honors, and glories.

If we could take all things as ordained and for the best, we should indeed be conquerors of the world. Nothing has ever happened to man so bad as he has anticipated it to be. If we should be quiet under our troubles, they would not be so painful to bear. I cannot separate the existence of a God from His pre-ordination and direction of all things good and evil; the latter He permits, but still controls.

God has given you ties and anchors to this earth; you have wives and families; I, thank God, have none of them, and am free. . . . You are only called on at intervals to rely on your God; I am obliged continually to do so. I mean by this that you have only great trials, such as the illness of a child, when you feel yourself utterly weak, now and then. I am constantly in anxiety. The body rebels against this constant leaning on God; it is a heavy strain on it; it causes appetite to cease.

Find me the man—and I will take him as my help—who utterly despises money, name, glory, honor—one who never wishes to see his home again, one who looks to God as the source of good and controller of evil, one who has a healthy body and an energetic spirit, and one who looks on death as a release from misery. If you cannot find him, then leave me alone.

I feel a great contentment. A star when it makes its highest point is said to have culminated ; and I feel I have culminated—*i. e.*, I wish for no higher or other post than the one I have ; and I know I cannot be removed unless it is God's will, so I rest on a rock, and can be content. Many would wish a culminating point with less wear and tear. But that very wear and tear makes me cling more to the place, and I thank God. He has made me succeed, not in any very glorious way, but in a substantial and lasting manner. *I entirely take that prophecy of Isaiah as my own, and work to it as far as I can.**

It is a delightful thing to be a fatalist, not as that word is generally employed, but to accept that, *when things happen and not before*. God has for some wise reason so ordained them to happen—*all things*, not only the great things, but all the circumstances of life ; that is what is meant to me by the words, "you are dead," in St. Paul to Colossians.

I have four English officers with me ; we wear anything we can get, and the men are almost in rags.

* "And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt : for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and He shall send them a saviour, and a great one, and He shall deliver them."

Cowardly, effeminate, lying brutes these Arabs and Soudanese! without any good point about them that I have seen. It is degrading to call these leaders and these men officers and soldiers—I wish they had one neck, and that some one would squeeze it! When not obliged, I keep as far away as I can from them, out of ear-shot of their voices. It is not the climate, it is not the natives, but it is the soldiery which is my horror.

My idea is that the restoration of the country should be made to the different petty sultans who existed at the time of Mehemet Ali's conquest, and whose families still exist; that the Mahdi should be left altogether out of the calculation as regards the handing over the country; and that it should be optional with the sultans to accept his supremacy or not. I doubt much the liberation of the slaves in the twelve years (according to the convention), of which there now remains nine. Who will do it?

I prayed heartily for an issue (in going to Dara), *but it gave me a pain in the heart like that I had when surrounded at Masindi*. I do not fear death, but I fear, from want of faith, the result of my death, for the whole country would have risen. It is indeed most painful to be in such a position; it takes a year's work out of me.

I am neither a Napoleon nor a Colbert. I do not profess either to have been a great ruler or a great financier ; but I can say this—I have cut off the slave-dealers in their strongholds, and I made the people love me.

I must not complain if they (the natives) have no thought of what I have already gone through. There is only one issue to it, and that is death, and I often feel I wish it would come and relieve me.

I have certainly got into a slough with the Soudan ; but looking at my Banker, my Commander-in-chief, and my Administrator, it will be wonderful if I do not get out of it. If I had not got this Almighty Power to back me in His infinite wisdom, I do not know how I could ever think of what is to be done.

It is lamentable work, and over and over again in the fearful heat I wish I was in the other world. When I look back on the hours and hours of waiting for this and that, during China and later campaigns, and here, I really think few men have had such worries in this way. But I am wrong in it ; the lot is cast evenly to us all. We are servants ; sometimes our Master gives us work, and at others He does not, and our feelings in both circumstances should be the same. All I can say is, that this in-

action, with so much to do elsewhere, is very trying indeed to my body.

I have just seen Khalifa Atra, who reigned for a few hours (as Ameer), and I told him it was better to be humble, and not high, than to be proud and elevated, for a fall has always to be feared; if one is near the ground one cannot fall very far.

I esteem it a far greater honor to promote peace than to gain any paltry honors in a wretched war.

There would be no one so unwelcome to come and reside in the world as Christ while the world is in the state it now is. He would be dead against—say, nearly all of our pursuits, and be altogether *outré*. I gave you Watson on Contentment; it is this true exposition of how happiness is to be obtained—*i.e.*, submission to the will of God, whatever that will may be; he who can say he realizes this has overcome the world and its trials. Everything that happens to-day, good or evil, is settled and fixed, and it is no use fretting over it. The quiet, peaceful life of our Lord was solely due to His submission to God's will. There will be times when a strain will come on me, and as the strain so will your strength be.

The future world has been somehow painted to our mind as a place of continuous praise; and

though we may not say it, yet one cannot help feeling that, if thus, it would prove monotonous. It cannot be thus. It must be a life of activity ; for happiness is dependent on activity. Death is cessation of movement ; life is all movement.

Poor little wretches,(slaves,) only stomachs and heads, with antennæ for legs and arms—the enormous stomachs caused by grass-feeding.

The Soudan is a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so. Larger than Germany, France, and Spain together, and mostly barren, it cannot be governed except by a Dictator who may be good or bad. If bad, he will cause constant revolts. No one who has ever lived in the Soudan can escape the reflection, “ What a useless possession is this land !” Few men, also, can stand its fearful monotony and deadly climate.

As for tax-collecting, or any government existing outside the forts, it is all nonsense. You cannot go out in safety half a mile—all because they have been fighting the poor natives and taking their cattle.

It pains me what sufferings my poor Khedive Ismail had to go through.

My occupying this city enables the Imperial Gov-

ernment to protect an enormous district, rich in corn, etc., and the people around are so thankful for their release that it is quite a pleasure. . . . You may hear of cruelties being committed ; do not believe them.

My poor escort, where is it ? Imagine to yourself a single, dirty, red-faced man on a camel ornamented with flies, arriving in the divan all of a sudden !

Gordon's interview with King John of Abyssinia.

“ Do you know, Gordon Pasha, that I could kill you on the spot if I liked ? ” “ I am perfectly well aware of it, your Majesty,” said the Pasha. “ Do so at once if it is your royal pleasure. I am ready.”

This disconcerted the king still more, and he exclaimed, “ What ! ready to be killed ? ” “ Certainly,” replied the Pasha ; “ I am always ready to die, and so far from fearing your putting me to death, you would confer a favor on me by so doing ; for you would be doing for me that which I am precluded by my religious scruples from doing for myself—you would relieve me from all the troubles and misfortunes which the future may have in store for me.”

This completely staggered King John, who

gasped out in despair, "Then, my power has no terrors for you?"

"None whatever," was the Pasha's laconic reply. His Majesty, it is needless to add, instantly collapsed.

No man ever had a harder task than I, unaided, have before me; but it sits as a feather on me. As Solomon asked, I ask wisdom to govern this great people; and not only He will give it, but all else besides. And why? Because I value not the "all besides." I am quite as averse to slavery, and even more so than most people. I show it by sacrificing myself in these lands, which are no Paradise. I have naught to gain in name or riches. I do not care what men may say. I do what I think is pleasing to my God; and, as far as man goes, I need nothing from any one. The Khedive never had directly gained any revenue from slaves. I now hold this place here; and I, who am on the spot with unlimited power, am able to judge how impotent he, at Cairo, is to stop the slave trade. I can do it with God's help, and I have the conviction He has destined me to do it; for it was much against my will I came here. What I have to do is to settle matters that I do not cause a revolution on my own death—not that I value life. I have done with its comforts in coming here. My work

is great, but does not weigh me down. I go on as straight as I can. I feel my own weakness, and look to Him who is almighty ; and I leave the issue, without inordinate care, to Him. I expect to ride five thousand miles this year if I am spared. I am quite alone, and like it. I have become what people call a great fatalist—viz., I trust God will pull me through every difficulty. The solitary grandeur of the desert makes me feel how vain is the effort of man. This carries me through my troubles, and enables me to look on death as a coming relief when it is His will. . . . It is only my firm conviction that I am only an instrument put in use for a time that enables me to bear up ; and in my present state, during my long, hot, weary rides, I think my thoughts better and clearer than I should with a companion.

We have nothing further to do when the scroll of events is unrolled than to accept them as being for the best. *Before* it is *unrolled* it is another matter ; and you could not say I sat still and let things happen with this belief. All I can say is, that amid troubles and worries, no one can have peace till he thus stays upon his God ; it gives a man a superhuman strength.

Self is the best officer to do anything for you.

To forget anything comes to the same thing as to refuse to execute it ; indeed, is somewhat worse.

I will let captured slaves go down to Egypt and not molest them, and I will do what I like and what God in His mercy may direct me to do about domestic slaves ; but I will break the neck of slave raids, even if it cost me my life.

I have seen Li Hung Chang, and he wishes me to stay with him. I cannot desert China in her present crisis, and would be free to act as I think fit. I therefore beg to resign my commission in Her Majesty's service.

In all natures, however savage, there is something good.

I often think how small the office-work generally is with us in England in our great offices, in comparison with the questions one has to decide here. In the one case a few pounds are in dispute ; in the other case the whole tenure and the destinies of human beings are a question. In reality both are equally important, so far as the effect on ourselves is concerned. The procuring and boiling of potatoes is as much to a poor woman as the reorganization of the army is to Cardwell.

Search myself as I will, I find that in all my

career I can lay no claim to cleverness, discretion, or wisdom. My success has been due to a series of (called by the world) flukes. My sense of independence is gone. I own nothing and am nothing. I am a pauper, and seem to have ceased to exist. A sack of rice jolting along on a camel would do as much as *I think* I do. But how different it is in appearance to the world !

Whether I succeed in being heard or not is not in my hands. I protest, however, against being regarded as one who wishes for war in any country, far less in China. In the event of war breaking out, I could not answer how I should act for the present ; but I shall ardently desire a speedy peace.

It is one comfort to be utterly uncomfortable, for it cannot be worse, and *may* be better.

We must confess that it is far easier to say go and do this or that *than to do it*.

If I followed my own desire, I should leave now (China), as I have escaped unscathed, and been wonderfully successful. I do not apprehend that the rebellion will last six months longer if I take the field. It may last six years if I leave.

I never want anything published. I am sure it does no good, and makes people chary of writing.

His Highness threw me over completely at the last moment ; but far from being angry, I was very glad, for it relieved me of a great deal of trouble, and he said I might go at the end of next week. I laugh at all this farce. I left Cairo with no honors, by the ordinary train, paying my fare. The sun, which rose with such splendor, set in the deepest obscurity. His Highness was bored with me after my failure, and could not bear the sight of me, which those around him soon knew. I do not know how matters will end with me, for I was too outspoken at Cairo to have strengthened my position. When one depends on one man, a bit of cheese or a fig will cause, perhaps, a change in that man's digestion and temper.

You may rely on this, that if there was any possible way of avoiding these wretched fights, I should adopt it, for the whole war is hateful to me.

What could I do? I could only address the Arabs with me, and tell them that if they took Mussulmans as slaves they did it against the command of the Koran ; and I took sand and washed my hands, in order that they might see I put on them the responsibility of the decision.

No one can conceive what my officers and troops are ! I will say no more than that for my own

personal safety I must get two hundred men as a body-guard. I do not think one of the enemy was killed at the assault of the station. Not one ought to have escaped. I was *sickened* to see twenty brave men in alliance with me ride out to meet the Leopard tribe, unsupported by my men, who crowded the stockade! It was terribly painful. The only thing which restrained me from riding out to the attack was the sheep-like state in which my people would have been had I been killed.

What also would have become of the province? I am now a Tsung Ping Mandarin (which is the second highest grade), and have acquired a good deal of influence. I do not care about that overmuch. I am quite sure I was right in taking over the command, as you would say if you saw the ruthless character of the rebels.

I know that I am not actuated by personal considerations, but merely as I think will be most conducive to the interests of our government.

I act for myself, and judge for myself; this I have found to be the best way of getting on.

Ninety-nine men out of a hundred may be worthless, but we should go on and find the hundredth.

The Yellow Jacket, which has been conferred on

me, is a regular Chinese distinction, with which some twenty Mandarins have been decorated ; it constitutes the recipient one of the Emperor's body-guard. I do not care twopence about these things, but know that you and my father like them.

Of Captain Craigie (a brother-officer in the Crimea), I am glad to say that he was a serious man. The shell burst above him, and by what is called *chance* struck him in the back, killing him at once.

Lord Raglan died of tear and wear and general debility. He was universally regretted, as he was so kind. His life has been entirely spent in the service of his country. I hope he was prepared, but do not know.

The people on the confines are suffering greatly, and are in fact dying of starvation. It is most sad, this state of affairs, and our government really ought to put the rebellion down. Words could not depict the horrors these people suffer from the rebels, or describe the utter deserts they have made of this rich province.

I feel convinced that the rebel chiefs would come to terms if they had fair ones offered. I mean to do my best to bring this about, and am sure that if I do I shall gain a greater victory than any capt-

ures of cities would be. . . . I care nothing for a high name.

Men at times, owing to the mysteries of Providence, form judgments which they afterward repent of. This was my case in accepting the appointment Lord Ripon honored me in offering me. I repented of my act as soon as I had accepted the appointment, and I deeply regret that I had not the moral courage to say so at that time. Nothing could have exceeded the kindness and consideration with which Lord Ripon has treated me. I have never met any one with whom I could have felt greater sympathy in the arduous task he has undertaken. . . . The brusqueness of my leaving was inevitable, inasmuch as my stay would have put me in possession of secrets of state that—considering my decision eventually to leave—I ought not to know. Certainly I might have stayed for a month or two, had a pain in the hand, and gone quietly ; but the whole duties were so distasteful that I felt—being pretty callous as to what the world says—that it was better to go at once.

I tell you truly I do not want anything, either money or honors, from either the Chinese Government or our own. As for honors, I do not value them at all, and never did. I know that I am

doing a great deal of good, and, liking my profession, do not mind going on with the work under the circumstances. . . . I should have refused the ten thousand taels, even if everything had gone well, and there had been no trouble at Soochow.

I think that any one who contributes to putting down this rebellion fulfils a humane task, and, I also think, tends a great deal to open China to civilization. I will not act rashly, and I trust soon to be able to return to England. . . . I can say that if I had not accepted the command, I believe the force would have broken up, and the rebellion gone on in its misery for years. I trust this will not now be the case. . . . I think I am doing a good service.

A man made to fight against his will is not only a bad soldier, but he is a positive danger, causing anxiety to his leaders, and absorbing a large force to prevent his defection.

I can say that few men have so much faith put in them by the Chinese as myself.

If we try to drive the Chinese into sudden reforms, they will strike and resist with the greatest obstinacy, and will relapse back again into old habits when the pressure is removed; but if we lead

them, we shall find them willing to a degree, and more easy to manage. They like to have an option, and hate having a course struck out for them, as if they were of no account in the matter. They also like to see the utility of the course proposed, and to have the reasons for the same explained over and over again; and they are also quick in seeing advantages and disadvantages. . . . I have got on by proposing to them a course of action in such a way as to give them a certain option as to whether they will follow it or not, and have always endeavored to recommend nothing which would clash utterly with their prejudices; by this means I have led them on to change many things, which I should never have succeeded in doing if I had tried to force them to do all at once.

What a complex question this is (the slave trade)! I wish it was unravelled, for the tension on me now for six months has been great, and I have not finished the half of my troubles.

I only look to benefiting the peoples.

With terrific exertions I may in two or three years' time, with God's administration, make a good province, with a good army and a fair revenue, and peace and an increased trade, and also have suppressed slave raids, and then I will come home and

go to bed, and never get up again till noon every day, and never walk more than a mile.

The government of the Egyptians in those far-off countries is nothing else but one of brigandage of the very worst description. It is so bad that all hope of ameliorating it is hopeless ; so I am doing the only thing possible—that is, vacate them. I have given up blaming the governors, for it is useless, so I send them to Cairo.

I value my life but as naught, and should only leave much weariness for perfect peace.

Inclined as I am, with only a small degree of admiration for military exploits, I esteem it a far greater honor to promote peace than to gain any petty honors in a wretched war.

I do not write the details of my misery. They are over, thank God ! Sleeping with an Abyssinian at the foot, and one on each side of you, is not comfortable, and so I passed my last night in Abyssinia.

Bodily Comfort—a very strong gentleman—says, “ You are well ; you have done enough ; go home—go home and be quiet, and risk no more.” Mr. Reason says, “ What is the use of opening more country for such a government ? There is more now under their power than they will ever manage.

Retire now, and avoid troubles with M'tesa and the Mission." But Mr. Somebody (I do not know what) says, "Shut your eyes to what may happen in future ; leave that to God, and do what you think will open the country thoroughly to both lakes. Do this not for the Khedive, or for his government, but do it blindly and in faith." An oracle also says, "Let your decision rest on the way the Khedive is disposed ; if he desires you to stay, then stay ; but if he seems indifferent, then do not hesitate, but go away for good."

The general report in Cairo was that I was going in for being sultan ! But it would not suit our family.

I can say truly, "No man has ever been so forced into a high position as I have. How many I know to whom the incense would be the breath of their nostrils ! To me it is irksome beyond measure. Eight or ten men to help me off my camel ! as if I were an invalid. If I walk, every one gets off and walks ; so, furious, I get on again."

I have written to say that if anything happens to me the Khedive is to be defended from all blame, and the accident is not to be put down to the suppression of slavery. I have to contend with many vested interests, with fanaticism, with the abolition

of hundreds of Arnants, Turks, etc., now acting as Bashi-Bazouks ; with inefficient governors, with wild independent tribes of Bedouins, and with a large semi-independent province lately under Se-behr, the black Pasha, at Bahr Gazelle.

I have shaken my heart or my lungs out of their places (he had ridden over nearly four thousand miles of desert within the year), and I have the same feeling in my chest as you have when you have a crick in the neck. . . . I say sincerely that, though I prefer to be here sooner than anywhere, I would sooner be dead than live this life.

It is such a country (the Soudan), so worthless ; and I see nothing to be gained by its occupation.

You do not know how unpalatable these positions are to my pride. If I had my way, I would have ridden through with one hundred horsemen and not feared ; it is the grander state one has to go on.

I have sent my journal (of 1863) home to H——. I do not want the same published, as I think if my proceedings sink into oblivion it would be better for every one.

Sometimes I wish I had never gone into this sort of Bedouin life, either in China or here. Is it my fault or my failing that I never have a respectable

assistant with me to bear part of my labors? The men who would suit me are all more or less burdened with their families, etc.; those who are not so loaded are for money or for great acts, which do not accord with my views.

I feel very sorry for the poor people, for they were my allies at Wadar, and through their absence with me their possessions were exposed to the attacks of these scoundrels. What misery! But the Higher than the highest regardeth it, and can help them. I cannot.

I would give my life for these poor people of the Soudan. How can I help feeling for them? All the time I was there, every night I used to pray that God would lay upon me the burden of their sins, and crush me with it instead of these poor sheep. I really wished and longed for it.

No panic; if I disappear altogether for some months do not be afraid, even if you hear that I am a prisoner. Take no alarm; it may be that only by being made a prisoner I may be able to gain access to the Mahdi, and induce him to permit the garrisons to escape.

I will not leave these people after all they have gone through. I shall not leave Khartoum until I can put some one in.

The prosperity of Egypt can only follow the restoration of peace in the Soudan.

I will look after the troops in the equator, Bahr-el-Ghazel, and in Darfu, although it cost me my life.

I do so cordially dislike these wretched troops !
. . . In all cases commanders have some reliable men. There is a moral conviction, which it is necessary for soldiers to have—namely, that they will conquer ; let this be wanting, and they are worthless. The Khedive has not taken the least notice of my complaints of them, but urges me on still further. What is it to him what tenfold additional trouble I have to take in consequence !

It is odd that the totally naked tribes seem to be in one circular place, between Duffi and Fashoda, and that then you have a ring of partially naked, and then the clothed tribes. Adam knew he was naked, but these naked tribes have no notion of it whatever ; there is some great mystery. Up here they are all clothed.

I do not carry arms, as I ought to do, for my whole attention is devoted to defending the nape of my neck from mosquitoes.

I go with only a half heart, for I would wish to be at Gallipoli. I know it was wrong in one way,

but I cannot help it. It would be a great trouble for the Khedive, I know ; but if God took me away he would not have any trouble in finding another worm to fill the place. You may imagine my feeling in going down to Aden to-morrow just at the crisis ; it is truly *dechirant*.

What a mystery, is it not ? why they (the natives) are created ! A life of fear and misery, night and day ! One does not wonder at their not fearing death. No one can conceive the utter misery of these lands—heat and mosquitoes day and night—all the year round. But I like the work, for I believe I can do a great deal to ameliorate the lot of the people.

I shall hold on here as long as I can ; and if I can suppress the rebellion, I will do so. If I cannot, I shall retire to the equator, and leave you the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons of Senaar, Kassala, Berber, and Dongola, with the certainty that you will eventually be forced to smash up the Mahdi under great difficulties, if you would retain peace in Egypt.

I stay at Khartoum because Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out. I also add that, even if the road was opened, the people would not let

me go unless I gave them some government or took them with me, which I cannot do.

Answer to the Mahdi: "If you are the true Mahdi, dry up the Nile, and come and take me."

Khartoum, July 30, 1884.—Be assured that these hostilities are far from being sought for, but we have no option. Retreat is impossible, unless we abandon the employés and their families, which the general feeling of the troops is against.

Dec. 14, 1884. To a friend in Cairo.—Farewell! You will never hear from me again. I fear that there will be treachery in the garrison, and all will be over by Christmas.

"We learn, on unquestionable authority, that General Gordon told a Devonshire friend before leaving for the Soudan that he had all his life been affected by presentiment, and that never, even in the worst times in China, had he the least expectation of being killed; but on this occasion he had a distinct presentiment that he would never return from Khartoum; and he actually distributed a few trinkets as memorials."—*Manchester Evening Mail*.

